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## SECURITY STUDIES IN JAPAN: AN OVERVIEW

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*Author: William Shaw*

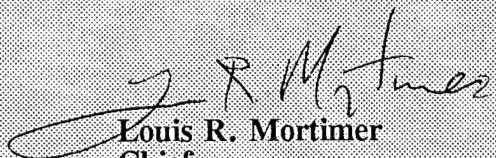
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## PREFACE

This study examines organizations inside and outside of the Japanese Government that conduct research or make policy recommendations on Japanese defense and security policies. It discusses prime ministers' study groups, private research institutes, government organs, and organizations within the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. In the context of impending leadership changes in the Self-Defense Forces and the office of the prime minister, the study concludes with suggestions for further research.

Materials used in this study include English- and Japanese-language studies, press accounts, and official documents available at the Library of Congress.

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## **GLOSSARY**

JCSS	Japan Center for Strategic Studies
JDA	Japan Defense Agency
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
MCNS	Ministerial Council on National Security
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
PARC	Policy Affairs Research Council of the Liberal Democratic Party
RIPS	Research Institute for Peace and Security
SDF	Self-Defense Forces

## SUMMARY

This paper is concerned with organizations and individuals who generate ideas about Japan's security and security policies. Debate on these subjects is ongoing and lively, and involves numerous Japanese organizations--academic institutes, special study groups convened by Japanese prime ministers, and government bureaus. These ideas take on increased significance in 1987 as Japan experiences leadership changes in the Self-Defense Forces and in the office of the prime minister.

Prime ministers' study groups have twice examined and reported on security issues since 1979, developing a concept of "comprehensive security" that emphasizes economic and diplomatic policies in addition to purely military measures to ensure Japan's security. In 1984, one such group convened by Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, the Peace Problems Research Council, recommended reconsideration of the policy limiting the defense budget to one percent of Japan's GNP. The recommendations of such study groups rarely are reflected in immediate policy changes, but do serve to clarify or to develop public consensus.

Within the Japanese Government, several ministries have bureaus concerned with defense. At the cabinet level, the National Defense Council and a National Security Council provide forums for inter-ministerial consideration of defense issues. The Cabinet Research Office also collects and analyzes information affecting Japanese security. Some analysts believe that the growth in number and function of supra-ministerial organizations over the past decade reflects a long-term effort by incumbent prime ministers to strengthen the office of the prime minister and to lessen the role of the bureaucracy in policy formation. The same trend increases the influence of extra-governmental think tanks.

Outside of government, various think tanks seek to influence Japanese security policies. These include the moderate Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS) and the more conservative Japan Center for Strategic Studies (JCSS). These organizations have aggressive programs of publication to circulate their views. Individual thinkers in such institutes often have close ties with past or present members of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), including the prime minister and other LDP leaders.

Within the LDP there are several committees concerned with security and defense issues. The National Defense Division of the LDP's Policy Affairs Research Council plays an important role in coordinating the annual budget request of the Japan Defense Agency (JDA) with the party.

The study suggests topics for further research into the views and activities of groups and individuals that may influence Japanese security policies. Such research should explore the opinions of advisors to potential LDP leaders, the role of retired civilian and military officials of the Japan Defense Agency and Self-Defense Forces, and the views and influence of emerging SDF leaders.

## INTRODUCTION

Numerous Japanese organizations conduct research and make recommendations concerning Japanese security policy. These include academic institutes, special study groups convened by Japanese prime ministers, and governmental or quasi-governmental organizations.

This paper briefly describes some of the more important organizations concerned with security issues and suggests topics for further research.

## PRIME MINISTERS' STUDY GROUPS

Prime ministers' study groups, like presidential commissions in the United States, are made up of experts and prominent individuals from business, government, and academic worlds who have been assigned to study a particular issue and submit a report to the chief executive. Two such groups have examined security issues since the late 1970s.

### Study Group on Comprehensive National Security

In April 1979, Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira established the Study Group on Comprehensive National Security. The group, headed by Masamichi Inoki, presented its findings in July 1980 in a Report on Comprehensive National Security that addressed both military and nonmilitary issues.

The report cited the country's reliance on Japan-US security arrangements and candidly noted several weaknesses in Japan's military capabilities. These weaknesses included the inability to repel even a minor military threat (lack of "denial force") and problems of integrated command and control of the three arms of the Self-Defense Forces. In addition, it summarized and brought to wider public attention changes in mainstream defense thinking that had taken place following the international economic, political, and military changes that had benefited Japan in the mid and late 1970s. Such changes included two oil supply crises, a world trade recession, the emergence of developing countries as political and economic actors, the breakdown of great-power detente, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, and a perceived weakening of US military and economic power and resolve.

Nonmilitary issues discussed in the report included the security of Japan's food and energy supplies and management of domestic disaster relief programs. The narrative also stressed the need for long-term economic and diplomatic measures to promote greater world security of food and energy reserves.

The Report on Comprehensive National Security of 1980 contained something to please most elements of public opinion in Japan. As a consensus document, however, it failed to satisfy the more severe critics of the Self-Defense Forces, who disapproved even of the modest gains in capability it allowed the SDF and who also felt it overemphasized the Soviet threat. Strident supporters of the SDF, on the other hand, felt that the findings were far too idealistic in their proposed reliance on diplomacy and foreign economic assistance and left too little room for the future growth of Japan's military deterrent, or for increased sharing of the US-Japan defense burden.



Despite these criticisms, the report seemed adequately to summarize Japan's foreign policy goals and practices. Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki, notwithstanding momentary lapses, such as his promise in Washington in 1981 to defend Japan's sea lanes out to 1,000 nautical miles, had little interest in moving beyond the terms outlined in the 1980 report, and he established no study groups dealing with security issues.

### The Peace Problems Research Council

Japan's next Prime Minister, Yasuhiro Nakasone, sought to shift the "comprehensive security" consensus to place additional emphasis on the development of the roles and capabilities of the SDF. In July 1983 he convened his own study group, the Peace Problems Research Council (heiwa mondai kenyukai), under the chairmanship of Professor Masataka Kosaka of Kyoto University, a respected moderate. Nakasone wanted a report calling for reconsideration of the long-sacrosanct policy against allocating more than 1 percent of GNP for the nation's defense budget. After heated deliberations, Nakasone's view prevailed. In its final report of December 1984, the Council also recommended revising the Defense Program Outline of 1976 to take into account increases in Soviet military strength in the Pacific region.

### GOVERNMENTAL ORGANS

Apart from the Japan Defense Agency (JDA), several governmental organs study security problems. The National Defense Council (kokubo kaigi) is made up of the heads of ministries concerned with defense matters, including the JDA, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, and the Economic Planning Agency. The Council formulates basic defense policies and defense program outlines under the supervision of the prime minister.

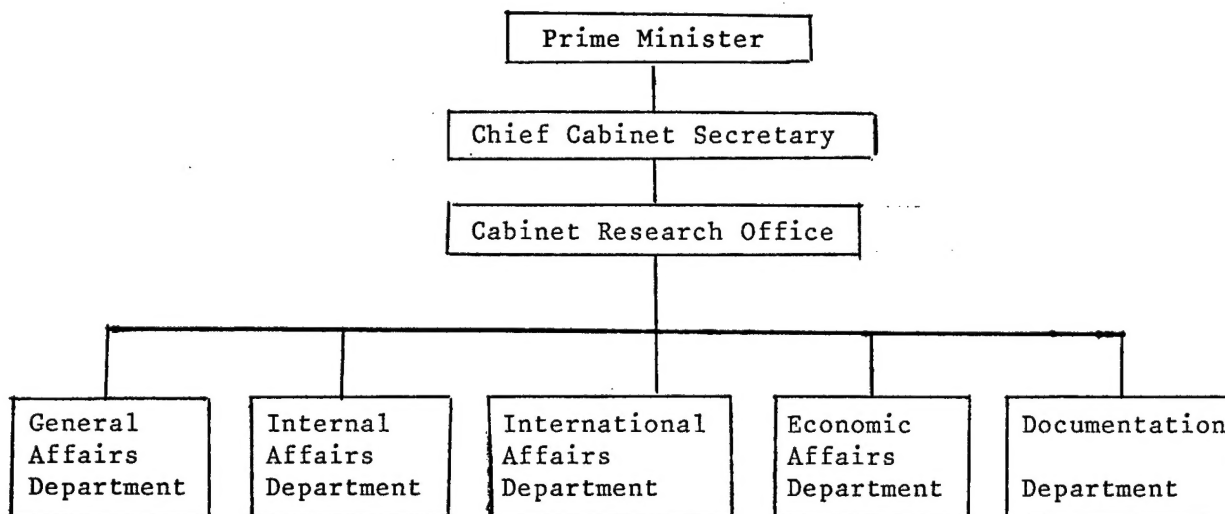
In September 1986, Prime Minister Nakasone established another inter-ministerial body, the National Security Council, which reportedly was to supplant the National Defense Council and have responsibilities for crisis management. The National Security Council reports to the prime minister.

In December 1980, Prime Minister Suzuki established the Ministerial Council on National Security (MCNS). The Council comprised the heads of key ministries and was chaired by the chief cabinet secretary. A small staff was located in the prime minister's office. Under Suzuki, the MCNS was not a policymaking body, but instead provided a forum in which ministry heads received briefings on current affairs. The MCNS was dormant under Prime Minister Nakasone until revived in October 1986 to study the security of Japan's supply of rare metals and food.

The Cabinet Research Office (CRO) (naikaku chosashitsu) collects and analyzes information affecting Japanese security. It reports to the chief cabinet secretary and since December 1982 has given frequent briefings to Prime Minister Nakasone. The CRO also prepares briefings on trade, defense, and other issues in preparation for the prime minister's overseas trips. (See table 1.)

Table 1

The Cabinet Research Office



Source: "Cabinet Research Office Welcomes Prime Minister's Desire for Information," Jiji Press Ticker Service, 28 December 1982.

The Cabinet Research Office has a staff of about 120, approximately one-third of whom are detailed from the National Police Agency, the MOFA, the JDA, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, and other government agencies. The CRO supplements its small staff through contractual relationships with official and private-sector news organizations and research institutes, including the bureau of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation that monitors foreign broadcasts. The CRO also receives reporting from other government agencies, including the JDA and the MOFA.

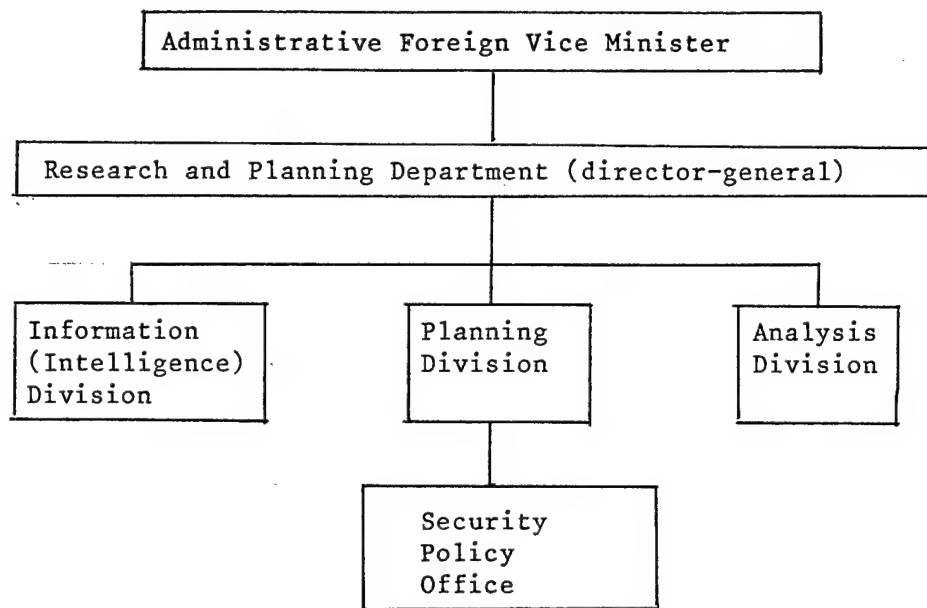
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has several internal offices concerned with the coordination of defense policy, including the Security Affairs Division and the Research and Planning Department.

The Security Affairs Division under the North American Affairs Bureau in the MOFA bears primary responsibility within the Ministry for US-Japan defense relations and related intelligence matters. It also coordinates defense policy with the JDA and other concerned ministries.

The Research and Planning Department in the MOFA is a bureau-level office that has information (intelligence), planning, and analysis divisions. The Security Policy Office under the Planning Division is responsible for the collection and analysis of intelligence information relating to national security. The Department reports to the Administrative Vice Foreign Minister. (See table 2.)

Table 2

Research and Planning Department, MOFA



Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Waga gaiko no kinkyō 1985 [Trends in Our Diplomacy] (Tokyo, 1986), reference table 1.

In 1979, the Ministry established a Security Policy Planning Committee to provide opportunity for representatives of regional bureaus to meet periodically to discuss political-military questions. The Committee occasionally issues statements on defense matters.

#### RESEARCH INSTITUTES

The two best-known private research institutes concerned with security questions are the Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS) (heiwa anzen hosho kenkyūjo) and the Japan Center for Strategic Studies (JCSS) (Nihon senryaku kenkyū sentaa).

#### Research Institute for Peace and Security

RIPS is largely made up of intellectuals who favor a modest expansion of Japanese military capabilities and strategic awareness within the context of comprehensive security doctrine and the US-Japan Security Treaty. (See table 3.) Many of the academics associated with RIPS have received some training in the United States, have extensive contacts in US academic circles, and frequently publish in English. Some RIPS members, like Professor Masataka Kosaka of Kyoto University, are close advisors of Prime Minister Nakasone.

RIPS publishes Asian Security, an annual review that assesses Japan's security environment.

Table 3

Selected Membership of the Research Institute for Peace and Security

<u>Name</u>	<u>Title or other affiliation</u>
Masamichi Inoki	president, Research Institute for Peace and Security former president, Japan Defense Academy
Masataka Kosaka	professor, Kyoto University
Masashi Nishihara	professor, National Defense Academy
Yonosuke Nagai	professor, Tokyo College of Technology
Fuji Kamiya	professor, Keio University
Seizaburo Sato	professor, Tokyo University member, Study Group on Comprehensive National Security

Source: Frank Langdon, "The Security Debate in Japan," Pacific Affairs (Vancouver), Fall 1985, p. 398.

Japan Center for Strategic Studies

The JCSS is made up of retired civilian and military officials of the JDA and includes some members of the LDP, such as Deputy Prime Minister and former JDA Director-General Shin Kanemaru. (See table 4.)

Many JCSS members belong to the older generation that has had some experience in the prewar Japanese military. JCSS members typically favor an expansion of the defense budget to several times its current level and support a major expansion of Japan's military capabilities. Some JCSS members are believed to favor revision of the US-Japan Mutual Security Treaty and an autonomous defensive capability. JCSS members publish extensively in Japanese, although some of their writings have been translated into English.

In 1982 some members of the JCSS and some LDP Diet members formed the Committee for Establishing an Equitable Alliance between Japan and the United States. The purpose of the group was to establish ties with US politicians favoring an increase in the Japanese share of the mutual defense burden and to lobby within Japan for more defense spending.

Table 4

Selected Membership of the JCSS

<u>Name</u>	<u>current or previous position</u>
Shin Kanemaru	Deputy Prime Minister (current)
Noboru Minowa	Diet member (LDP Tanaka faction) (current)
Masao Horie	former Diet member (House of Councillors) former Ground Self-Defense Forces Inspector General, Western Region
Goro Takeda	former Air Self-Defense Force officer former Chairman, Joint Staff Council
Tsugio Yata	former Maritime Self Defense Force officer former Chairman, Joint Staff Council
Ryohei Toga	former Chief of Staff, Maritime Self-Defense Force
Jun Tsunoda	instructor, Aoyama Gakuin University

Source: "Report by Strategy Research Center Analyzed," article by Tetsuo Maeda in Asahi Journal (Tokyo), 22 November 1985, pp. 12-19, translated in US Joint Publications Research Service, Japan Report, 18 March 1986, pp. 64-65.

**LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY**LDP Committees

Several committees within the LDP deliberate security and defense issues. These include the Investigative Committee on National Security (anzen hosho iinkai) and the Special Committee on Military Bases (kichi taisaku tokubetsu iinkai). The LDP Foreign Affairs Research Committee also considers defense issues.

These committees may conduct studies and send resolutions or recommendations to the Policy Affairs Research Council (PARC) of the party. The PARC makes policy recommendations to the LDP Executive Council, which reports to the prime minister. Depending on intraparty politics, the Executive Council and prime minister sometimes rule on and at other times merely ratify the recommendations of the PARC.

The National Defense Division (kokubo bukai) is a formal subunit of the Policy Affairs Research Council. It coordinates the annual budget request of the JDA with the LDP.

### Ultraconservative LDP members

Conservative LDP members with an interest in security issues (sometimes referred to as the LDP "hawks") include those affiliated with the late Ichiro Nakagawa, former director of the Science and Technology Agency, who unsuccessfully ran for the office of prime minister in 1982. Nakagawa was a founder in the early 1970s of the Seirankai (Blue Storm Society), a now-defunct club of ultraconservative LDP members. Following Nakagawa's death in January 1983, the group has been associated with Shintaro Ishihara, who has publicly advocated nuclear weapons for Japan. Group members support development of an independent defense capability and are extremely hostile to the Soviet Union.

### **CONCLUSION: IDENTIFYING THE KNOWLEDGE GAPS**

There is adequate documentation available concerning many of the principal organizations and individuals named above. However, there is a need for further information concerning the following:

- o affiliations and relations between recently retired civilian and military SDF and JDA officials and organizations such as the Center for Security Studies or groups of LDP Diet members interested in security issues;
- o membership and activities of emerging generations of SDF leadership, including those belonging to informal defense policy study groups in the three service arms;
- o membership and views of LDP defense-related committees;
- o names and views of security affairs advisors to LDP leaders, such as Shintaro Abe, Kiichi Miyazawa, and Noboru Takeshita;
- o activities and influence of the Cabinet Research Office, the Ministerial Council for National Security, and the National Defense Council; and
- o activities and influence of defense-related offices within cabinet ministries, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, and the Finance Ministry.

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